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The Canadian Current

1850-1914

"PER ANGUSTA AD AUGUSTA"

BY

J. S. McLENNAN

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The Canadian Current

"I hope to live to see the day, and if I do not that my son may be spared to see Canada the right arm of England, to see Canada a powerful auxiliary to the Empire, not as now, a cause of anxiety and a source of danger."

These words were addressed in 1871 to the Commons of Canada by Sir John A. Macdonald, its Prime Minister. He was asking Parliament to ratify the clauses of the Treaty of Washington which concerned Canada, settling for the time some of the many questions between England and the United States, which caused anxiety.

On the 19th of last May, there was held in London an Imperial meeting, representing as a report says, the public life of the Empire. Its purpose was,

"to record, on behalf of the British people, its abiding gratitude for the unparalleled services rendered by the self-governing Dominions, the Colonies, the Protectorates, and the Indian Empire in the struggle to maintain the ideal of liberty and justice which is the common and sacred cause of the Allies."

Mr. Asquith spoke first, and recounted with an impressiveness entirely adequate to the importance of his theme, the contributions of the outlying but integral parts of the Empire to the common forces which the Empire has in battle array. Mr. Bonar Law followed, and after him the audience listened to the representatives of the Dominions. Their people, in the words of an Australian, quoted by the Prime Minister,

"are not simply assisting the mother country in a European war. They feel each one of them, that they are also fighting their own battles for

their own ideals—ideals of right, personal and political liberty against the forces which if victorious would inflict a fatal and world wide blow at these ideals. '

Thus, the dawn of that day for which Sir John longed broke in April of this year over the battlefields of Flanders.

The young who are winning renown for their Canada on these fields do not know, and their elders are apt to forget, critical phases of Canadian development. Yet the mature who in their youth listened to and still remember the talk of their elders, know, with knowledge almost first hand, the events of seventy-five years. In these years, economic and political forces of the first importance tended to produce results, and at moments seemed almost on the point of producing them, which would have made forever impossible the realization of Sir John Macdonald's aspirations for Canada.

The ordinary view taken of historical events is to regard them as inevitable. The unimportance of mistakes made by victors which might have been crucial, is seen in the retrospect; so the narrative which dwells on them seems belittling or partisan. Details of successes of the ultimately beaten meet with an impatient reception Among modern events it is only Waterloo which has for a whole century provided material for many books dealing with its tactics and with hypotheses as to its result, had Wellington, Napoleon, Grouchy or Blucher acted otherwise than they did. Nevertheless, a full survey, which takes into consideration all phases of an event or of a period, is that from which most is to be learned.

This pamphlet does not give a history of even the principal events in Canadian history since the mid nineteenth century. It is meant to present, with as little detail as possible, the writer's interpretation of the course of those events, dur-

ing years wherein results now achieved seemed hopeless, and disasters now escaped seemed almost inevitable.

The Provinces of British North America which now make up the Dominion were, up to 1867, separate self-governing colonies. Each had its own administration and its own fiscal system. The only rail connection between the Lower Provinces and the Canadas was through the United States; the only communication between the Canadas and England, from late November to early May, was shipping from ports of the Republic. The stretches of country between Upper Canada and British Columbia were thought to be a barren wilderness, prairies and the barrier of the Rockies. That barren wilderness is now known to be rich in minerals, the exploitation of which has begun; those prairies have now proved their worth in the quality of their cereals; while through the mountain barrier, by a route found to be the lowest of the passes to the Pacific, is carried no inconsiderable part of the commerce of Eastern America and the Orient. But these possibilities were in 1850-60 still unrevealed. No more hopeful view of the greater area of British North America was then generally held than of the vast region, now populous states of the Union, which geographies, even to a recent time, designated as the "Great American Desert."

The small population of these British Provinces, had at once the stimulus and the discouragement of propinquity to the United States, which in development was the best part of a century in advance. Boston was the metropolis of the seaboard Provinces. There was more trade between them and New England than with Canada. The Provincial who sought a technical school went not to Montreal or Toronto, but to Harvard or to

New York. Whatever might be the origin of the British American, he knew of the progress and resources of the Republic, and if he migrated, it was across the border, rather than to some other district of his own country. In the ingenuity of its inventors, in the enterprise of its merchants, the resources of its banks, as well as in population enjoying opportunities for successful careers and the amenities of life, no province compared with the adjoining states of the Union. While such cities as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and St. Paul grew with a rapidity as astonishing as the wealth they gathered in from the fertile country about them, the corresponding longitudes of Canada were hunting grounds, with their largest aggregations of dwellings those few grouped about the trading posts of the Hudson Bay Company.

A country relatively so populous, so prosperous and so opulent excited admiration rather than envy. Annexation to the United States had been proposed in 1848, by a very considerable number of important citizens of Montreal, irritated by local legislation which they resented, and depressed by the consequences to them of Imperial enactments. It was an outbreak of petulance, and is here mentioned solely to show the friendly spirit in which Canadians regarded their neighbors. What was permanent and universal for close on half a century was the desire of the British North Americans for expansion of trade with the United States, so that the history of their development is in the main a history of courses taken as alternatives to that which they persistently desired, in which, through the action of the United States, they were invariably blocked.

When this crucial period began, Canada was suffering from the withdrawal of the tariff preference, which, up to the establishment of Free Trade

in Great Britain, her principal commodities had enjoyed. The economic disturbance caused by this Imperial legislation, taken without regard to colonial interests, was far reaching. It turned the attention of the Provinces with more eagerness to increasing their commerce with the United States. Their avenue of approach was through Downing Street, and Lord Elgin, once Governor of Canada, negotiated a reciprocity treaty providing for mutual free trade in many commodities. The Treaty went into effect in 1855, and remained in force until 1866. The two events are significant; the mother country, lessening the material advantages of colonial connection with her; the colonies finding, in trade with a foreign country, an apparently greater prosperity than that lost through the action of Great Britain.

The first important event which in this unstable period of the new Dominion brought international relations into prominence, was the Treaty of Washington. The ending of the Civil War in the United States left unsettled questions of the most serious kind between Great Britain and the United States. "The Alabama Claims," the St. Juan boundary dispute, the Canadian inshore fisheries, which the fishermen of the United States had enjoyed during the currency of the Reciprocity Treaty, the claims of Canada for compensation for the damage done and expense incurred by the raids of Fenians, prepared on and issuing from, the territory of the United States, were the principal questions at issue. These were to be settled at a time when the United States was greatly irritated, not only with England, but, in a lesser degree, with Canada. Sir John Macdonald told the writer that Mr. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, had said that he wished that all countries had been as scrupu-

lously neutral as Canada. However, the Provinces had been the refuge of southerners, and their press with some notable exceptions had flamboyantly expressed sympathy with the Confederacy. Halifax had been a port of call for confederate privateers, and, more offensive, a raid on St. Albans, in Vermont, had been carried out from Canadian soil.

An attempt to settle the Alabama claims by the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty had failed through its rejection by the United States Senate. This dangerous question was thus still open, the United States was incensed with England, it had at its call hundreds of thousands of trained men, veterans of the civil war, and as fresh causes of irritation were arising through the poaching of its fishermen on Canadian waters, the Canadian Government urgently pressed on Downing Street the settlement of this question. Its action led to the re-opening of negotiations. the appointment of plenipotentiaries and the reference to them of the various questions in dispute, including, at the instance of the United States, the Alabama Claims. This broadening of the Commission's work was accepted by Great Britain "provided that all other claims both of British subjects and citizens of the United States, arising out of the recent civil war in that country are similarly referred to this Commission."

Sir John A. Macdonald was invited to be one of the five British Commissioners. This offer placed him in a dilemma, into the nature of which it is not necessary to enter; for the present purpose it is enough to note that in a letter to Lord Lisgar, the Governor General, he wrote, saying : "that if Canada allowed the matter to go by default, and left its interests to be adjudicated upon, and settled by, a commission composed exclusively of Americans having adverse interests and Englishmen having little or no interest in Canada." . . . &c

This was the estimate of a Canadian statesman than whom none was more keenly alive

to the value of Imperial connection. It was not a chance expression. The views on which it was founded were so real, that before accepting a place on the Commission, he obtained from the Imperial Government declarations that it would uphold Canada's right to the fisheries she claimed, and that any bargain about them must be ratified by the Parliament of Canada. The result was that the prevailing feeling in Canada was justified. The St. Juan boundary decision went against us. The Fenian claims, although based on the same principles of International Law as the Alabama claims, were withdrawn by the Imperial Government, a bitter disappointment to Canada. Sir John had to stand against the rock of the pledge given him, in resisting the pressure of his fellow commissioners to sell the fishing rights of Canada for a bagatelle. Subsequent events justified the position he assumed. A joint commission in 1877 awarded to Canada five and a half million dollars, for ten years access to fisheries, which in 1871, the English Commissioners would have been content to sell in perpetuity for one million.

Previous experience of Imperial dealings with the United States about boundary questions, and the incidents in connection with this Treaty, showed on the part of English statesmen an estimate of Canada so widely different from that held by Canadians, so little desire to maintain Canadian interests, while so large a part of the irritation of the United States was due to our connection with England, that the "Canada First" Party, with a harmless platform, but a rebellious spirit, came into existence in the earlier seventies, and ephemerally flourished.

One intellectual influence was important in those days. Mr. Goldwin Smith, with the

prestige of his Oxford position, his solid attainments as an historian, the flawless cadence of his speaking voice, and the perfection of his prose, came to Canada, and became the head of the "Canada First" Party. His views of the possibilities of Canada were, that annexation to the United States was written in the stars, and that our long frontier abutting on the Republic gave Canada the lateral strength of an ill-jointed fishing rod. He closed one paragraph in a paper in the Contemporary Review with the question, "Who ever sees a Nova Scotian on the streets of Toronto?" Long before he died in 1910, one of the chief financial institutions in Toronto was the Bank of Nova Scotia; and, if in old age, Mr. Smith had met the heads of the two principal institutions of learning in Ontario, Queen's and the University of Toronto, he would have found that they both were natives of that Ultima Thule.

Mr. Goldwin Smith was not alone in these views. One of the Counsel for the American Commissioners on the Alabama claims was Mr. Caleb Cushing, a native of Maine. He wrote a book on "The Treaty of Washington," (New York, Harpers, 1873). The following paragraphs occur in its concluding pages:

"The Dominion of Canada is one of those 'Possessions,' as they are entitled, of Great Britain in America, which, like Jamaica and other West India Islands, have ceased to be of any economic value to her save as markets—which in that respect would be of almost as much value to her in a state of independence—which she had invited and encouraged to assume the forms of semi-independent parliamentary government—which, on the whole, are at all times a charge to her rather than a profit, even in time of peace—which would be a burden and a source of embarrassment rather than a force in time of war,—and which, therefore, she has come to regard, not with complete carelessness perhaps, but with sentiments of kindliness and good-will, rather than of the jealous tenaciousness of sovereign power. When the Dominion shall express desire to put on the dignity of a sovereign State, she will not encounter any obstacles on the part of the Metropolis. . . .

"Meanwhile the Dominion has now to provide for the cost of her own military defense, and that, not against any enemies of her own, but

against possible enemies of the Mother Country. The complications of European or of Asiatic politics may thus envelop the Dominion in disaster, for causes wholly foreign to her, as much as if she were a sovereign state. In such an emergency, the Dominion would be tempted to assume an attitude of neutrality, if not of independence.

"All these considerations show how slender is the tie which attaches the Dominion to Great Britain.

"The entire history of all European Colonies in America proves that the sentiment of nationality, that is of attachment to the Mother Country, is very weak and readily yields place to other sentiments of ambition, interest, or passion, so as to produce feelings of hostility between the inhabitants of the Metropolis and those of the Colonies more intense than such as exist between either of them and the inhabitants of other countries. . . .

"Loyal Canadians, that is, loyal to Great Britain, must of necessity take into account this fact, which is of the very essence of British colonization in America. They are also compelled to regard another serious fact of the same order of ideas, namely, the continual emigration from Canada to the United States, not only on the part of recent immigrants from Great Britain, but—which is more noticeable as a sign of the times—the emigration of old Canadians, natives of the soil, in spite of all the efforts of the Government to check and discourage it.

"On the other hand, the history of all European colonization shows that a time comes when the Mother Country grows more or less indifferent to the fate of her Colonies, which time appears to have arrived in Great Britain as respects the Dominion.

"When Canada complains (without cause) that her wishes have been disregarded and her interests prejudiced by the stipulations of the Treaty of Washington, the great organ of opinion in England replies:

"From this day forth look after your own business yourselves: you are big enough, you are strong enough, you are intelligent enough, and, if there were any deficiency in either of these points, it would be supplied by the education of self-reliance. We are both now in a false position, and the time has arrived when we should be relieved from it. **Take up your freedom: your days of apprenticeship are over.**

"Instances might be cited of the expression of similar ideas in Parliament.

"Loyalists in Canada must remember another thing. Montesquieu, with the singular penetration which distinguished him, perceives that England imparts to her colonies "la forme de son Gouvernment," by means of which 'on verroit se former de grands peuples dans les forets memes qu'elle enverroit habiter.' But the parliamentary form of Government, wich has contributed so greatly to the growth and strength of British Colonies, gave to them facilities of successful rebellion—that is, of separation from the Metropolis—which no other form of government could impart, and the absence of which in Spanish America (and now in Cuba) has done so much to impede and obstruct their separation from Spain. . . . . .

"There is another class of considerations of great importance.

"War between the United States and great Britain is now a contingency almo t inadmissible as supposition, and so is war between the United States and Canada, a possession of Great Britain. Nevertheless, the capability of a country to maintain itself by force, if need be, is one o. the elements of its political life, and therefore can not be overlooked in considering the condition of the Dominion of Canada.

"In regard to Canada the inquiry is the more important, seeing that military force depends in part on geographical facts, which, in her case, equally as to peace or war, and for the same reasons, place her at a disadvantage on the side of the United States.

"The British possessions in North America, beginning with Newfoundland on the Atlantic Ocean, and ending with Queen Charlotte's Island on the Pacific, extend across the continent in its broadest part, a distance of 80 degrees of longitude, but in a high latitude, occupying the whole of the country north of the territory of the United States. The space thus described looks large on the map; but the greater part of it is beyond the limit of the growth of trees, and much of the residue is too cold to constitute a chosen residence for Europeans.

"In a word, the Dominion stretches along thousands of miles, without capability of extension on the one side, where it meets the frozen north, or on the other, where it is stopped by the United States. As a country, it resembles a mathematical line, having length without breadth.

"Meanwhile, owing to their internal position, their northern latitude and the geographical configuration of the whole country, the two great Provinces of Ontario and Quebec have no access to the sea in the long winter, save through the United States.

"Thus, if it be possible to conceive of two countries, which would appear to be naturally destined to constitute one Government, they are the United States and the British Provinces, to the special advantage of the latter rather than the former.

"We, therefore, can afford to wait. We have nothing to apprehend from the Dominion Pacific Railway: if constructed, it will not relieve Ontario and Quebec from their **transit** dependence on the United States We welcome every sign of prosperity in the Dominion With the natural limitations to her growth, and the restricted capacity of her home or foreign markets, her prosperity will never be sufficient to prevent her landowners and her merchants from looking wistfully toward the more progressive population and the more capacious markets of the United States. Her conspicuous public men may be sincerely loyal to the British Crown; many of the best men of Massachusetts, New York and Virginia were so at the opening of the American Revolution; but neither in French Canada, nor in British Canada, nor in the Maritime Provinces, do any forces of sentiment or of interest exist adequate to withstand those potent natural and moral causes, or to arrest that fatal march of events, which have rendered nearly all the rest of America independent of Europe, and can not fail, sooner or later, to reach the same consummation in the Dominion of Canada

"The spirit of independence is a rising tide, in Canada as elsewhere in America, which you see in its results, if not in its progress. It is like the advancement of the sun in the sky, imperceptible as movement, but plain as to stages and ultimate destination It is not an effect actively produced by the United States. It is an event which we would not precipitate by violence if we could, and which we scarcely venture to say we wish for, lest in so doing we should possibly wound respectable susceptibilities; but which we nevertheless, expect to hail some day with hearty gratulation, as an event auspicious alike to the Dominion and to the United States."

If the publicists of England, on the infrequent occasions when they dealt with Canadian affairs, did not take the extreme position of

Goldwin Smith, their views were not inharmonious with it. Mr. Thomas Hughes, "Tom Brown" of Rugby and Oxford, founded a colony of young Englishmen of his own class at Rugby in Tennessee. In reply to a question asked before the failure of the enterprise, as to his reason for placing it in the United States rather than in Canada, Mr. Hughes said that it was of great importance to build up the United States, and to propagate among that people feelings of harmony with England, not to be accomplished by English help in the development of Canada.

In many ways Canada at that time was feeling the bitterness of the nineteenth century being the century of its great neighbor. A generation had to pass before she had proved that, in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's phrase, the twentieth century was hers. The conditions were such as might be expected. The British investor had made much money in the United States; he had made little in Canada. It is true that the Emma Mine, Middlesboro Iron Works, and scores of other failures offset the profitable ventures in the Republic. But the flow of capital seems usually to set toward great successes, so that, hungry for capital and population, Canada saw British money and British people flow into the United States. When Canadians began the stupendous task of building the Pacific Railway, they were unable to obtain funds in the London market. The enterprise had touched the verge of success before any considerable amount of English capital was invested in it.

In essentials the attitude of England has been sound. Canada has been permitted to work out her own destinies. Her interests have been looked after and protected. In increasing measure autonomy has been given, and given without mur-

muring. There has been no protest when reciprocal trade with the United States, which would have placed Great Britain at a disadvantage, has been proposed. In diplomatic discussion, wherein the interests of Canada were involved, the right of Canada to a voice proportional to her interests has been admitted. What the academic revolutionary of the Canada First Party of the seventies thought worth academic bloodshed to attain, is inconspicuous among the many privileges of his son's birthright.

This is the retrospective view which disregards all but the achieved. Day by day, while the event was uncertain, England's attitude was less satisfactory. The connection with England for many years was a source of danger rather than of strength. The Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated by the United States, because of the attitude of England to the Southern Confederacy, and the depredations on American shipping of English built cruisers, and thus a blow dealt, which, to American observers and to Canadian traders, seemed fatal to Canadian prosperity. The Trent affair in 1861 almost involved England in war with the United States. If that war had taken place Canada would have been its Belgium. The Fenian Brotherhood organized raids in the United States, threatened the peace of Canada from 1866 to 1871, and more than once invaded its territory. One of its emissaries assassinated D'Arcy McGee, a member of the Cabinet, on the streets of Ottawa. Later, there were weeks in which a peaceful settlement of the Venezuelan difficulty was most uncertain. Thus the Dominion was threatened, and involved in quarrels in which it had no direct part or interest, save through its British connection.

Had that connection been valued by England,

these "alarums and excursions" had been more easily borne. But the British North America Act, which formed the Dominion, was passed at Westminster as of no more significance than if it had settled the boundaries of two or three English parishes.

An hour will give time to read the report of all the speeches made on the subject in the Lords and Commons.

In the debates on the Bill, the ultimate separation of Canada from the Mother Country was more than once spoken of. In the Lords, the Marquis of Normanby, who as Lord Mulgrave had been Governor of Nova Scotia, 1858-63, followed Lord Carnarvon, who presented the Bill. Lord Normanby said:

"If the North American Colonies felt themselves able to stand alone and showed their anxiety either to form themselves into an independent country or even to amalgamate with the United States, he did not think it would be wise to resist that desire."

Earl Russell ended his few remarks thus:

"In conclusion I may express a hope that all these provinces may flourish and prosper and that if it should ever be their wish to separate from this country we may be ready to listen to their requests and to accede to their wishes in any way they may choose."

Lord Monck, who shortly was to go out as Governor General, also referred to separation, in the same sympathetic spirit as his predecessors. In "another place", Mr. John Bright said:

"I want the population of those countries to do what they consider best for their own interest, to remain with this country if they like, to become an independent state if they like and struggle for a career of liberty and glory; or if they think it best to annex themselves to the United States, I should not complain even of that."

Only one member who took part in the debate, a Mr. Watkin, took with force the other view in saying:

"for himself he gave support to this measure of Confederation, not because he wished to establish a new nation, but because he wished to confirm an existing nation, for the scheme, if it meant anything, meant that Canada was to remain under the British Crown."

This private member alone voiced the sentiments of the new Dominion. The official leaders

of English opinion took the course of a parent thinking of a child's future along lines which the child did not wish, and which hurt. It was a challenge and was so interpreted.

The effect of this English attitude was heightened by the withdrawal of the Imperial garrisons, so that the growing generation ceased, except at Halifax, where the troops remained, to have before them the outward and visible sign of British connection. The Imperial Ministry asked Canada to provide for its own defense. So Canada was urged forward towards autonomy. Our destiny became the subject of widespread debate. Should it be independence, or annexation to the United States? There were but few who then thought probable the continuance of a status which successive Imperial ministries seemed to value lightly, which many in Canada thought not only economically disadvantageous but morally enervating, and for which those who clung to British connection as the best possibility for Canada, did their utmost with no certainty of hope that their aims would be realized. They had to fight as allies who considered themselves undervalued, and yet were placed in the forefront of the battle.

In the backward look these years seem as a day. In the forward vision of the seer, time also counts as little. Canada from earliest times had her seers, and fortunately for her and the Empire, they were men at the head of affairs, whatever party administered the Government. Howe as well as Tupper, Brown no less than Macdonald, believed in the splendid possibilities of the country and in the value to it of British traditions and the British connection. But the plain man concerned with giving his children a better chance in the world than he had enjoyed, concerned in his daily round with meeting his obligations, felt

that neither in regard for his collective interests by the English government, nor in the sympathy of the British people, was he receiving the help to which his ideals, the potentialities of Canada, the splendid efforts he had made to develope them, entitled him. His fear in years of depression (and these came about every decade), was that his building for the future would crush him before the possibilities of the future had become actual. Increased production and trade were essential. None of the men of affairs of those thirty years were always certain that their staying powers, or those of the communities in which they had cast their lot, were equal to the uncertain length of time. The fainthearted went to the United States, as did many of the young and enterprising, (fairer prospects in Ontario might well have kept there Edison, its telegraphist inventor, since world-known)—and the spirit of those who carried through was that of the man who had set his plough to the furrow and would get to the end.

The overwhelming majority of Canadians believed that the economic condition of the country would be vastly improved by closer trade relations with the United States. During the currency of the Reciprocity Treaty, March 16, 1855—May 17, 1866, Canada had been prosperous through trade with the United States. The degree of that prosperity does not show in the imperfect trade statistics of the time, but this is certain: that the people of the United States thought that Canada was greatly the gainer by that treaty, the people of Canada, that it was of vital importance to have it renewed. Notwithstanding a great convention in Detroit, representative of the Boards of Trade of both countries, passing unanimously a vote in favor of its continuance, it was abrogated.

A Canadian mission to have it renewed failed in 1869. In 1871, when the Washington Treaty was under discussion, reciprocal concessions were asked for on behalf of Canada, and refused. At intervals of about five years, that is to say in 1871, '74, and '79, in 1887, in 1892 and 1896, Canada sought from the United States reciprocity in various forms. From 1887 until 1891 it was for the first time a question of party politics, not because one party was opposed to freer trade relations with the United States, but because the other, in those years of commercial depression, was willing to purchase relief by making effective a policy of "Commercial Union" or "Unrestricted Reciprocity," which not only their opponents, but their own leaders, saw would place Great Britain at a commercial disadvantage, and might imperil our political connection with her.

Sir Richard Cartwright, speaking in Ontario in 1887, said :

"I am as averse as any man can be to annexation or to resign our political independence but I cannot shut my eyes to the facts—there is a risk but it is a choice of risks. I say deliberately that the refusal or failure to secure free trade with the United States is much more likely to bring about just such a political crisis as these parties affect to dread than even the closest commercial connections that can be conceived."

Sir Richard had been a Minister of the Crown, but in or out of office he was a pessimist. Mr. Edward Blake had led his party from 1878 to 1887. He refused to run in the elections of 1891, and remained silent as to his reasons until after the election was over and his friends were defeated. He then addressed a letter to his old constituents. In it he said:

"Assuming that absolute free trade with the States, best described as commercial union, may and ought to come, I believe that it can and should come only as an incident or at any rate as a well understood precursor of political union."

It should be noted that it was the immediate successors of these leaders who, on their accession

to power, inaugurated, without bargaining for a **quid pro quo**, the system of British preference.

Up to the time, 1887, when it became a party issue, we believe that no one taking an interest in the matter would have failed to welcome a new reciprocity treaty, nor do I know anyone who does not believe that had the first reciprocity treaty been continued, or a new one passed, say before 1880, while Canada was in a formative state, increased intercourse mutually profitable between Canada and her great neighbor would have made political union a natural sequence.

We have heard much in these last months of the misconceptions of German diplomacy. These are no greater than those of the men who shaped the policy of the United States between 1865 and 1896.

A nation founded on the Declaration of Independence, which had endured four years of civil war to maintain inviolate the principle of Union; of which the most cherished political dogma was a warning to foreign powers to keep clear of the Americas; the people of which are sensitive to outside criticism or interference in their affairs, acted towards Canada in these years as if her people, of the same race, of the same speech, of the same essential traditions as their own, were to be forced by economic pressure to become suppliants for political union. The way was made easy by a project of legislation for "the admission of the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West, and for the organization of the territories of the Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia as States and territories of the United States." Later, threats of withdrawing bonding privileges, essential to Canada's foreign trade, were resorted to in order to make us yield. Mr. Olney's despatch on the Vene-

zuelan difficulty, in which he in substance wrote that the British had no rights on this continent which the United States was bound to respect, did not tend to make Canada give up a birthright because he despised it. Ignorance of Canada, undervaluing of its potentialities, economic pressure, all failed, in conditions where free intercourse, mutually advantageous trade relations, and cordiality might have done effectively the work of fusion. The course of the United States stimulated the Canadian. He had never failed to recognize his neighbor as a Hercules. It took him forty years to know himself as Antaeus, who gained strength from every reverse.

He found it out in time, for when the effort for reciprocal trade of 1896 failed, no statement of a Canadian Prime Minister ever gave more satisfaction to its people than Sir Wilfrid Laurier's "We will make no more pilgrimages to Washington." In 1910 Washington invited Ottawa to conference on Reciprocity. While this conference was in progress and before its results were known a provincial paper wrote on the question in this way:

"There is nothing to be gained by discussing the necessity for Canadian protection of these four items until the agreement is specifically made known.

"But upon the general proposition it is both proper and pertinent for every thinking Canadian to express himself. Let us look at the whole situation. We had reciprocity from 1854 to 1865 under the Elgin Treaty and the Canadian provinces prospered under it marvellously, largely owing to the fact that the republic was, for four years of that time, engaged in terrible civil strife. Their men were employed in the federal and confederate armies and they wanted the products of our farms and fisheries and mines. When Gen. Lee surrendered the armies were disbanded, men went back to work and the mole eyed statesmen at Washington thought they saw a chance of starving Canada into annexation.

"They denounced the Elgin Treaty and thus shut us out of the profitable market which had been created. Canadians, however, were not made of yielding stuff and two years later, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia united in confederation.

"We have repeatedly sought entrance to the U. S. markets since that time and we have been repeatedly rejected. The inevitable

consequences were that we sought markets elsewhere and laid broad and deep lines for the development of inter-provincial trade

"There is no need to go into details. Since 1867 Canada has expended upwards of $600,000,000 in digging canals and building railways so that our trade lines might, with least resistance, run east and west. We have succeeded in binding together scattered colonies into a compact whole, proud of achievement and proud of its position as a nation in the British company of nations.

"Shall we hazard what has been accomplished on the throw of the die for reciprocity? Supposing that a reciprocity treaty were negotiated and it produced the most successful results anticipated by its promoters, what would be the inevitable result? Ontario and the west would find their trade lines north and south, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces would be trading with New England.

"There would in the east and west be a complete interchange of products with the U. S. and the idea of Canadian nationality would die. There is positively nothing ahead of such a policy except disintegration. Our industries would be overshadowed and swamped and the exodus would begin again towards Uncle Sam's domain. All the money we have expended for establishing east and west trade lines would go for nothing. All the investments of British and foreign capital in this country would be sacrificed and we would become the helots of the big republic

"We have builded well so far and we have mapped out a course that leads to progress, prosperity and power. Shall we sacrifice the outcome of the mighty endeavors of forty years to gratify the needs of a U. S. administration? Shall we cater to a free trade sentiment which however sound it may be in argument has always failed in practice? Canadians hold your own."

Sydney (N. S.) Post, January 20th, 1911.

When the action of the Government in negotiating this treaty was submitted to the people in the elections of September, the defeat of the Government was overwhelming. It was in part due to economic causes, but the schedules which dealt with the commodities affected, were rarely referred to. What mainly defeated the ministry at Ottawa were references to Canada "standing at the parting of the ways" between Imperial Federation and closer commercial union with which President Taft appealed to the United States, oblivious to the fact that there was mail and telegraphic communication with Canada; and such episodes in the American House of Representatives as the following :

Mr. Clark. . . . . "I'm for it (Canadian Reciprocity) because I hope to see the day WHEN THE AMERICAN FLAG WILL FLOAT OVER

EVERY SQUARE FOOT OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN POSSESSIONS CLEAR TO THE NORTH POLE. They speak our language, their institutions are much like ours, they are trained in the difficult art of self government. My judgment is that if the treaty of 1854(Canadian Reciprocity Treaty) had never been abrogated, the chances of the consolidation of the two countries would have been much greater than they are now.''

Mr. Martin (South Dakota): ''Will the gentleman favor the abrogation of our tariff law entirely as far as Canada is concerned, making free trade with Canada in all products?''

Mr. Clark: ''By taking Canada in to become part of the United States, yes, I favor this Treaty because it helps along universal peace.''

Mr. Norris: ''I wanted to ask the gentleman something along the line of universal peace. As I understand it, the gentleman favors this Bill for at least one reason: It will have the tendency in the end to bring Canada into the union.''

Mr. Clark: ''Yes, I have no doubt about that.''

Mr. Norris: ''Will that have the tendency to preserve peace with Great Britain?''

Mr. Clark: ''Why, certainly it will. I have no doubt whatever that the day is not far distant when Great Britain will joyfully see all her North American possessions BECOME PART OF THIS REPUBLIC. THAT IS THE WAY THINGS ARE TENDING NOW.''

Mr. Clark was Speaker of the House—but as far as Canada was concerned he was a Rip Van Winkle. About 1870, his last remarks might have been true. In 1911 they were as inaccurate as indiscreet. His indiscretion had much to do with the result of the election in Canada. The

Dominion took definitely one way; and never in its history have a larger number of people in the United States wished her well, and been so interested in her progress.

Thus the retrospect shows us a group of colonies welded into a Dominion; its people sending its sons to battlefields where they fight for their own cause; "ties light as air" binding the Empire, strong enough in this time of strain to make the Empire one; although the interval has seen instance after instance, wherein the metropolis seemed indifferent to the outpost; thrice have arisen conditions in which responsible statesmen had to consider the possibilities of war with our neighbor; eight times Canadian overtures to that neighbor rejected, and eight times that rejection the source of strength to Canada, and finally every difference with that neighbor settled, so that the suspended celebration of a century of peace between the Empire and the Republic shall be a presage of abiding amity and good will.

How has this come about?

Except in one particular, the answer is implicit in what has been written. Both Canadian parties had during these years men who believed in Canada, who foresaw its possibilities. In Canadian attempts to secure trade advantages with the United States, its people were eager for that savoury mess of pottage. There was never a moment when the majority of them were willing to pay for it with their birthright. More than once when a war, but one degree less fratricidal than civil strife, was possible, there occurred no accident or official indiscretion involving national honour to precipitate conflict; at the eleventh hour Imperial statesmen acted with firmness, and so prevented the fatal currency throughout a Canada which felt itself neglected, of a belief that the

Metropolis would not defend the rights of extra insular Britons; American administrators did not put into action pretensions they advanced; Canadians were for their good, left to prove that theirs was the twentieth century. When they had done this, recognition from Europe and the United States has been given without stint.

The one particular which remains to be noted is that these leaders of prophetic vision were seconded by a people, who in their private capacities were doing sound work along the same lines.

The development of Canada's transportation systems has been stupendous. The St. Lawrence, that most majestic of rivers, had in 1853 a channel to Montreal of only sixteen feet. It has now been deepened to thirty feet, and work is going on to make it thirty-five at low water. In the same year there were 506 miles of railway in Canada, in 1913 there were 29,304. The exports of Canada in 1853 were valued at $34,000,000; in 1914 they totalled $480,000,000.

These improvements in transportation were made necessary by private enterprise. Two years after Fulton's steamboat the "Claremont" navigated the Hudson, a Canadian merchant built at Quebec the "Accommodation." A tablet in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa commemorates the first crossing of the Atlantic by a steamship, the Canadian built "Royal William." It was not the enterprise of a citizen of the United States which brought into being the first regular steamship line between that country and England. It was that of Samuel Cunard, a native of Halifax, and that little town of less than fifteen thousand souls had regular steam communication with England earlier than New York. [a]

(a) The first port of the Cunard line in the U. S. was Boston.

The Allan Line, a pioneer in construction and in the material and equipment of its vessels, began regular sailings to the St. Lawrence in 1855. That other line which has grown into the fleet of the Canadian Pacific Railway was founded in 1859. Few of their earlier competitors for the trade of this continent are still in existence.

It was again Canadians who carried through the first railway from ocean to ocean. In the rapidity with which it was built, the genius with which traffic was created, the setting of new standards of railway management, (a) it is as pre-eminent as it has been in removing the reproach from Canadian railways of being the graveyards of British capital.

In the importation of superior stock the farmers of Canada were the peers of their neighbors with the milder climate and the larger market. In the founding and support of educational and charitable institutions, private benefactions have kept pace with the growth of wealth, and of governmental aid; and the time is not far distant when the western provinces will have universities with the most ample resources , and the landfall of the voyager across the Pacific to Canada shall be the splendid buildings of the University of British Columbia.

The proximate causes of the sequence of events which have realized the aspiration of the greatest of Canadian statesmen have now been indicated in broad outline, but one must realize that incidents are but as the waves on the surface, while the determining cause is the underlying, unseen current, which, now slackened, and now hastened by superficial events, sweeps on in its appointed

(a): A common practice in railway management on this Continent has been to delegate to affiliated companies various subsidiary operations, steamers, elevators, sleeping cars, hotels, etc. The stock of these companies has been owned by "insiders" and has often been extremely profitable. The C. P. R. was the first or among the very first to establish that these profits should all belong to the shareholders of the railway.

course. In the Sargasso Sea which it makes are the wreckage of expedients and schemes which have come to naught, and, among that wreckage, constitutions propounded before their time.

The course of that current can so far be traced that one can be sure that the vision of the seer has fallen short of the achievement reached; that the freedom Canada enjoys satisfies the once dissatisfied lover of independence; that the ties to the Metropolis, once apparently so frayed that a trifle might snap them, have strengthened to a bond not only between Mother Country and Colony but between all parts of the Empire with a common ideal of liberty and justice. The generation which has passed from the stage to the seats of the spectator, made the crucial shaping of the Canada for which the young are fighting. When the conflict has passed into victory, but while the glow of its heroisms and its sacrifices lift up the heart and illumine the mind, we believe there will be shaped a system which, with no sacrifice of local liberty or of imperial unity, shall make more complete the realization of those ideals now being defended.